

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH

S E C R E T SECTO 27111

EXDIS

FOR S/P BARTHOLOMEW FROM LORD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: UNGA SPEECH

1. WE NEED YOUR IMMEDIATE HELP ON CYPRUS AND NON-PROLIFERATION PORTIONS OF UN SPEECH. THOUGH WE HAVE DONE SOME LIGHT EDITING ON THESE SECTIONS, YOU CAN WORK ON BASIS OF CABLE TEXTS, WITH THE SECRETARY'S COMMENTS KEYED TO PARAGRAPH NUMBERS WHERE RELEVANT. PLEASE SEND YOUR REVISED TEXTS BY COB THURSDAY YOUR TIME. WE MUST HAVE THEM WHEN WE ARISE FRIDAY MORNING. MAKE SURE THAT HILL LIFTS AND POLISHES ALL THE MATERIAL ONCE OTHERS HAVE DONE NEW DRAFTS.

2. CYPRUS. THE SECRETARY WANTS HARTMAN TO KNOW THAT HE CONSIDERS THE DRAFT SECTION WE RECEIVED TO BE PEDESTRIAN AND REFLECTING LITTLE EFFORT. HE HAS DECIDED FOR NOW TO GO WITH ALTERNATE 2, THE VAGUE VERSION OF THE PRINCIPLES. WE NEED A BRAND NEW LEAD-IN TO THE CYPRUS SECTION; IT LACKS ANY SENSE OF DIRECTION OR SUBTLETY. WE SHOULD EXPLAIN SOME OF THE REASONS FOR STALEMATE, E.G. SITUATION FROZEN BY LACK OF FLEXIBILITY, DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS, ERRONEOUS ASSESSMENTS OF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION, ETC. WE NEED, IN SHORT, A SOMEWHAT LONGER EXPLANATION OF THE ELEMENTS OF THIS PROBLEM IN TERMS OTHER THAN COULD BE APPLIED TO ALMOST ANY INTENTIONAL PROBLEM. THE FINAL PARAGRAPH 8 ALSO NEEDS SOME ELABORATION ON THE THEME

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THAT THE PARTIES AND CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES THEMSELVES MUST

MAKE PROGRESS AND HAVE NOT BEEN MAKING EFFORTS RECENTLY.

3. NON-PROLIFERATION. THIS NEEDS BASIC OVERHAULING AND REWRITING. THE SECTION LACKS POWER AND DRIVE. WE NEED BETTER AND CLEARER EXPLANATION OF WHAT THE PROBLEM IS MILITARILY, POLITICALLY, ECONOMICALLY, TECHNICALLY, ETC. WE NEED TO GIVE MORE COHERENCE TO OUR PROGRAM OF ACTION AND HOW IT RELATES TO VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE CHALLENGE, E.G. ALONG THE LINES OF OUR STRATEGY PAPER FOR THE SECRETARY AND THE WHOLE SECTION NEEDS MORE ELEVATION. SPECIFIC COMMENTS ARE AS FOLLOWS. PARAGRAPH 6 - WE NEED TO EXPLAIN MUCH BETTER BOTH WHY COUNTRIES ARE TURNING TO NUCLEAR ENERGY AND WHY THE UNRESTRAINED SPREAD RAISES MENACES. ON THE MOTIVATION POINT WE SHOULD CITE FACTORS SUCH AS THE ENERGY CRISIS, THE RISE IN OIL PRICES AND NEED FOR ENERGY; THE SEARCH FOR PRESTIGE; THE DESIRE OF SOME COUNTRIES AT LEAST TO HOLD OPEN A NUCLEAR WEAPONS OPTION FOR THE FUTURE ETC. ON THE DANGER POINT WE NEED TO BE MUCH MORE CONVINCING. ON FIRST TICKED QUESTION SECRETARY COMMENTS THAT COUNTRIES MAY NOT FEEL THEIR DANGERS ARE MUCH INCREASED THEREBY. ON SECOND QUESTION HE PONDERES WHY NOT - NUKES ARE GREAT EQUALIZER. ALL THREE QUESTIONS IN SHORT ARE UNPERSUASIVE FOR THE HAVE-NOTS. UNFORTUNATELY, WHAT MAY BE RATIONAL DECISIONS FOR INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES IN TERMS OF THEIR POLITICAL POSITION (E.G. PAKISTAN EQUALIZING INDIA'S SUPERIOR CONVENTIONAL STRENGTH) WILL LEAD TO A TOTALLY CHAOTIC WORLD. WE THUS HAVE TO FIND A WAY TO POSE, STARKLY AND CONVINCINGLY TO THE AUDIENCE, WHY PROLIFERATION WILL BE DISASTROUS FOR GLOBAL STABILITY, WHY THE DANGERS TO NATIONS OF BEING OBLITERATED IS MULTIPLIED, ETC. PARAGRAPHS 7 AND 8 - THE DANGERS ARE NOT WELL ENOUGH SPELLED OUT. I DROPPED PARAGRAPH 9. PARAGRAPH 10 - THE RATIONALE WON'T BE CONSIDERED GOOD ENOUGH AND THIS PARAGRAPH SHOULD BE DELETED. PARAGRAPH 11 - THE SECRETARY NOTES THAT THE LAST TWO SENTENCES AGAIN ARE UNCONVINCING AND THAT WE MUST PUT IT IN TERMS THAT THE SMALLER POWERS THEMSELVES UNDERSTAND. PARAGRAPH 12 - RIGHT ABOUT HERE WE NEED TO OUTLINE THE VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF THE CHALLENGE. THE SECRETARY ASKED THAT WE DRAW ON OUR STRATEGY PAPER, WHICH HE TERMED QUOTE EXCELLENT UNQUOTE, THE PART WHICH EXPLAINS THE FUEL CYCLE

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AND HOW WE MUST ATTACK THE PROBLEM AT EACH OF THREE STAGES. PARAGRAPH 13 - HE NOTES BY THE FIRST THREE SENTENCES THAT NO ONE WILL UNDERSTAND WHY THIS IS SO. PARAGRAPH 14 - THE SECRETARY WANTS TO MAKE CLEARER THAT OUR PROPOSAL IS SIGNIFICANT AND WHY, IF INDEED IT IS SIGNIFICANT. I WOULD APPLY THIS COMMENT TO ALL OF OUR PROPOSALS. PARAGRAPH 15 - THE SECRETARY QUERIED WHETHER WE NEED AND CAN GET CLEARANCE ON THE PLUTONIUM CONTROL PROPOSALS. I EX-

PLAINED THIS DEPENDS ON OUTCOME OF WHITE HOUSE REPORT AND YOU
WILL KEEP US POSTED.

PARAGRAPH 17 - THIS MATERIAL SHOULD BE USED TOWARD THE
BEGINNING OF THE SECTION WHERE WE EXPLAIN THE PROBLEM.

PARAGRAPH 19 - WE NEED A MORE THOUGHTFUL AND ELOQUENT
CONCLUSION.

4. KOREA. THE SECRETARY GENERALLY LIKED THIS SECTION. WE
WILL BE SHARPENING SOMEWHAT THE WAFLING FORMULATION FOR YOU
GAVE US IN PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE NEW TWIST ON THE CONFERENCE,
BUT THE SUBSTANCE WILL REMAIN THE SAME. THE SECRETARY WANTS
US TO BEGIN IMMEDIATE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE KOREANS ONLY
AT THIS POINT ON THIS NEW APPROACH, USING THE ARGUMENT THAT
IT GIVES US A DIPLOMATIC EDGE. PLEASE RELAY THIS TO
HABIB, HUMMEL AND LEWIS.

5. ECONOMIC SECTION. JUST RECEIVED. I HAVE
NO COMMENTS FOR NOW.

6. YOU WILL HAVE NOTICED THAT WE HAVE ASKED SAM LEWIS TO
SHIFT THE PRIMARY DATE FOR THE SECRETARY'S ADDRESS FROM
SEPTEMBER 27 TO SEPTEMBER 30.

7. THANKS IN ADVANCE FOR WHAT I AM CONFIDENT WILL BE
SPLENDID NEW DRAFTS.
KISSINGER

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NNN

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